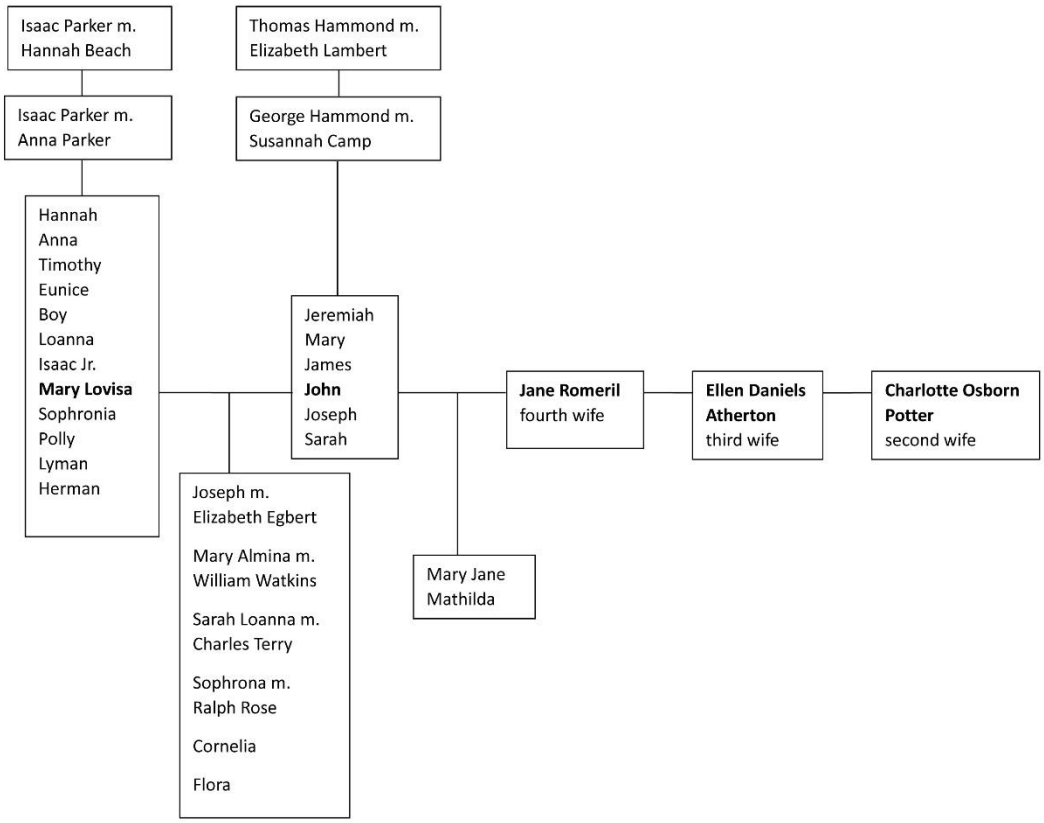
JOHN HAMMOND AND HIS WIVES

ABSTRACT

From the Napoleonic Wars to Zion, an impoverished British soldier's improbable journey.

By Kim Bateman, 5th great grandson

Family Tree


Isaac Parker m. Hannah Beach
Isaac Parker m. Anna Parker
Hannah
Anna
Timothy
Eunice
Boy
Loanna
Isaac Jr.
Mary Lovisa
Sophronia
Polly
Lyman
Herman
Thomas Hammond m. Elizabeth Lambert
George Hammond m. Susannah Camp
Jeremiah
Mary
James
John
Joseph
Sarah
Joseph m. Elizabeth Egbert
Mary Almina m. William Watkins
Sarah Loanna m. Charles Terry
Sophrona m. Ralph Rose
Cornelia
Flora
Mary Jane Mathilda
Jane Romeril fourth wife
Ellen Daniels Atherton third wife
Charlotte Osborn Potter second wife

Chapter One: The Hammond and Parker Families

John and his English Family

The winter of 1794-95 brought the coldest temperatures ever recorded in England. The River Thames froze over, and most roads became impassable. The previous summer had been dry, and with the disruption of imports due to perpetual war with France, people were starving. Food riots in the spring raised fears that England would follow the French into political revolution.

That summer John Hammond was born in Great Baddow, which is located about 40 miles northeast of London in Essex County. Despite its name (the word "great" simply distinguished it from Lesser Baddow), it was a small town of about 1,400 people, which was originally a manor built a millennium earlier, prior to the Norman conquest. It later became the property of Catherine of Aragon, granted to her, his first wife, by Henry VIII in the early 1500s. John Hammond's father George was a laborer,[1] the lowest social class in Britain, so the family had probably been hungry and cold during the preceding winter.

MAP OF UNITED KINGDOM

Although family pedigrees show Great Baddow as the birthplace of John's father, George Hammond's christening record is not found in the church records of that town. His relatively common name makes it difficult to learn the location of his birth and the names of his parents--there are 34 infant baptisms recorded between 1740 and 1760 for children named George Hammond within 50 miles of Great Baddow. None of these were performed in 1749, the birth year derived from his death record. The nearest christening that I could find for a child of that name was in 1744 in Nayland, Suffolk, which is 32 miles away, and the next closest was in 1753 in the town of Goudhurst in Kent, 62 miles in the opposite direction. Consequently, we don't know the names of his parents with certainty. If George was indeed born in Great Baddow, his father was probably Thomas Hammond, who was christened in neighboring Chelmsford, and his mother was Elizabeth Lambert.

I am quite certain that the maiden name of George Hammond's wife was Susanna Camp, which appears as Susan Champ in their son John's L.D.S. membership record. I have no documentation of their marriage, but the couple appears together as John's parents in his christening record.[2] John's maternal grandparents were likely Elisha Camp and Susanna Cox from the town of Childerditch, Essex, which is about 15 miles southwest of Great Baddow. John never knew his grandmother Camp, who died when his mother was only five.

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[1] George was so designated on the marriage record of is son James' second marriage.

[2] She is not the Susanna Camp who was born to Daniel Camp and Catherine Brunt in London as given in many pedigrees, for they were not married until 1775.

George was 37 years old at the time that he married Susanna, which suggests a possible prior marriage, but I have not been able to find one. They had been married for about nine years when John was born, and he had two older brothers: Jeremiah, who was nine, and James, age four. A sister named Mary would have been six if she was still alive.[3]

In those days, especially among the poor, children began work at an early age. Nothing is known for certain about John's work experience, but in his young adult years he was an expert basket maker, which suggests that he had some youthful experience, possibly even an apprenticeship in the field.[4]

Another occupation for young men in Britain, especially for those who could not get a good paying job, was the military. On April 9, 1806, when John was almost 12, his oldest brother, Jeremiah, signed up for the British cavalry, the 20th Dragoon Guards. Jeremiah was 20 years old and fully grown.[5] Their brother James was 15 and would be enlisting two years later. Jeremiah signed up for life and was still in service at least until February 26, 1817, since a military registry on that date noted that he was not discharged, deserted, or deceased.[6]

When John was 13 his next older brother, James Hammond, enlisted in the fabled 43rd Regiment of Light Infantry[7] at Chelmsford, Essex at the age of 16 years and 25 days. James was measured at 5 feet 2 ½ inches, well below the minimum required 5' 4" but eventually grew to 5' 10." He became a bugler and fought against Napoleon's troops the following year in Portugal. In January 1809 he accompanied his regiment to Spain, where he was captured and spent 5½ years as a prisoner of war.[8]

After James' return to duty, the 43rd Regiment participated in the Battle of New Orleans, which was won by Andrew Jackson. Ironically this battle was fought January 8, 1815, after the War of 1812 had officially ended owing to the delay of news to the combatants. The 43rd Regiment was later assigned to Ireland from 1819-1823 and then to Gibraltar. James was honorably discharged with a pension after 25 years in the military on May 22, 1834, disabled for active service due to rheumatism.

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[3] We have a christening record, but no further records for Mary.

[4] Basketry is widely believed to be the oldest craft in the world, dating back ten to twelve thousand years and predating pottery. It is also the most ubiquitous, found in some form in almost every part of the world. The Romans often used willows for the craft of basketmaking. Britain was renowned for skilled basketry, and large quantities were exported to Rome. We tend to think of basketry as a rural endeavor, which it mostly was until the 1800s, when Britain began to rapidly urbanize, but industrialization, rather than signaling basketry's demise, heralded a peak, as baskets were required to service the factories and towns. See https://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/work/england/somerset/article_1.shtml and https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/15/t-magazine/design/basket-weaving.html .

[5] Jeremiah was 5'6" when he enlisted and the same height four years later.

[6] Wikipedia: Most raw recruits were drawn from the lowest class, mainly civilians whose life was worse than military life. Most soldiers signed up for life, receiving a bounty of about £23. (about $3,000 in today's money). In 1806 to support the Napoleonic War, it became possible to sign up for a term of seven years in infantry, 10 in artillery or cavalry.

[7] The 43rd Regiment had been raised in 1741 and participated in the French and Indian War in 1757, captured Quebec in 1759 and served in Martinique and Havana in 1762. It returned to occupy Boston in 1774, participated in Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill, occupied New York City under General Clinton, and surrendered at Yorktown. In 1807 the 43rd captured Copenhagen and the entire Danish Fleet.

[8] Tens of thousands of war prisoners were interred in at least 19 different prisons and fortresses mainly on the northern and eastern borders of France and there was a similar number in England and Spain for the enemy. https://www.dcmmedals.co.uk/guests-of-napoleon-some-british-army-prisoners-at-givet-in-france-1808-14/

On June 18, 1812, the United States of America declared war against Great Britain. By this time John was almost 17 years old. I have been able to find records of multiple British soldiers and sailors named John Hammond, but none with a birthplace or birth year that would allow me to identify our John Hammond with certainty. However, I think it is likely that he served in the military just as his brothers had. John's brother James was released from the prison camp on June 14, 1814, when the British conquered Napoleon and sent him to exile in Elba.

From the *Pioneer History of John Hammond*,[9]

> One granddaughter states that John Hammond was pressed into the Queen's service when he was 15 years of age and sent to Canada with the English Troops. After his time expired he stayed in America and came to the United States…. Another granddaughter says that he was an English soldier, and because of the hardships of a soldier at that time, he and another soldier deserted and came to the United States.

There are a couple of problems with this. First, the minimum military age was 16, although a few (including his brother James) enlisted younger. Second, John was not "pressed" into service—enlistment was voluntary. And the minimum time for service was seven years, and that applied only for the cavalry and artillery. All other recruits signed up for life. However, John could have been discharged early due to illness. Third, England was still ruled by King George III. Queen Victoria did not assume the throne until 1837. Fourth, the British Regulars stationed in Canada had been there since 1800 and would not be reinforced until the summer of 1813, when John was 18. As to the alternate version of the family story that he deserted the military in England and fled to the U.S., it seems more likely that he arrived in America with the military before he deserted.[10]

Mary Lovisa and her American family.

Mary Lovisa Parker was born October 5, 1793,[11] in Poultney, Rutland, Vermont, right on the border with New York. Her parents were Isaac and Anna Parker. Isaac was a farmer.

In *FamilySearch*, her name is sometimes rendered as Louisa, causing me to wonder whether the spelling of Lovisa was an indexing error. But I learned that Lovisa is a relatively common name[12] with Nordic roots meaning "famous warrior." Apparently she was not named after an ancestor--I looked at three generations of her ancestors and could find no Lovisa[13] and only one person in three previous

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[9] Submitted by his great granddaughter Hilda Watkins Gaucher to Camp Juniper 119, Brigham City, Utah to South Box Elder County Camp, March 27, 1974.

[10] Desertions were definitely a concern for the British military, who experienced an estimated 4,000 desertions between 1807 and 1815, especially in units who were transferred to North America in 1814 when the war in Europe came to an end. See Kevin Linch, Desertion from the British Army during the Napoleonic Wars, Journal of Social History, Volume 49, Issue 4, Summer 2016, Pages 808–828. https://doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shw007

[11] Some genealogies list Lovisa's birth year as 1797 without giving a source. Her LDS membership record quibbles, giving the year as 1797 or 1790, and the American Genealogical-Biographical Index gives 1790-1799. There is no primary source; the only secondary sources are the Utah 1850 census, which gives her age as 60 [This census was belatedly counted in the new territory of Deseret on May 1851 before her birthday in October] and her South Cottonwood Ward membership record, which is the one I am using since it makes the most sense to me.

[12] There are 17 women in the Mormon Pioneer Database named Lovisa.

[13] However, two of her grandchildren later received that name.

generations had a Germanic surname (one of her eight great grandparents was named Kibbe) and there are very few such surnames among the mostly Puritan inhabitants of the towns that they lived in. The indexing error seems to have been made in the other direction.[14]

Her parents had moved to Poultney around 1785 from Wallingford, New Haven, Connecticut, where they had married in 1778 while her father was serving as a recruiting sergeant in the Revolutionary War.[15] Both parents were Parkers, whose families were among the first settlers in Wallingford over a century earlier. Wallingford is the site of the last witchcraft trial in New England in 1697.[16]

Poultney was one of the land grants issued between 1749 and 1764 by Benning Wentworth, the colonial governor of the Province of New Hampshire. To get there, the Parkers traveled about 120 miles north up the Connecticut river through Western Massachusetts and then another 80 miles northwest toward Fort Ticonderoga to the border of present Vermont and New York. The first settlers there had been driven out of their homes in 1771 at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War by the British General Burgoyne and his Native American allies but rebuilt after Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys famously recaptured Fort Ticonderoga four years later. Four of Allen's brothers were among the original settlers of Poultney. Another early settler was Abel Parker, Lovisa's uncle, who may have influenced Isaac and Anna Parker to leave Wallingford and settle there in 1785 with their four small children. Lovisa was not yet born when Vermont was admitted to the Union in 1791.

All the houses in the settlement were built of logs. Construction of the first church building was completed the year that the Parkers arrived, to house both Congregationalists and Baptists. By 1790 a library had been established in the town, which had grown to 1,121 inhabitants that year according to the first U.S. census.

After living in Poultney for 11 years, the Parkers moved about 30 miles further north to Cornwall when Lovisa was three. She had five sisters including an infant and four between six and 18, and two brothers who were five and 13.[17] The first settlers in Cornwall had arrived about 20 years earlier, most of them also hailing from Litchfield County, Connecticut. The Parkers lived in Cornwall for another 11 years during which her two oldest sisters, Hannah and Anna, married.

In the spring of 1806, When Lovisa was 12 years old, the family moved about 120 miles across Lake Champlain to join a new settlement in Franklin County, New York, located near the Canadian border on the St. Lawrence River. It was a real estate development, which had opened near the town of Chateauguay two years earlier with about 30 families. The settlement was originally named Harison[18] after the developer who had purchased the land, then renamed Ezraville in 1808 after Ezra

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[14] For example, the Utah 1850 census was indexed as Louisa, but the original was clearly Lovisa if you know what you're looking for.

[15] His discharge was signed by General George Washington in June of 1783. He was also given a Badge of Merit Award. Sgt. Isaac Parker served at the Battles of Saratoga, North River, West Point, and White Plains under Capt. Joseph Mansfield, Col. Dauglap, and Commanding Col. Meigs and Col. Butler. Since he was a recruiting sergeant, he did not participate directly in battles.

[16] Wikipedia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wallingford,_Connecticut

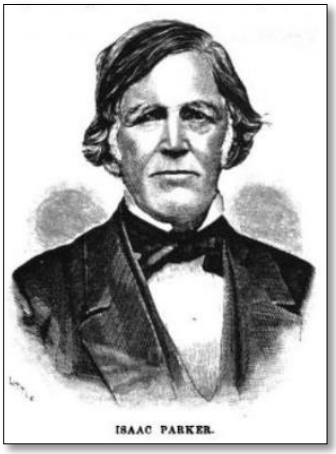
[17] The fact that Lovisa was born in Poultney supports the 1793 birth year—if it had been 1797, she would have to have been born in Cornwall.

[18] This is the correct spelling of his name. Richard Harison was a law partner to Alexander Hamilton.

L'Hommedieu, a former delegate to the Continental Congress, and finally changed to Malone in 1812.[19] Isaac Parker had scouted the area out the previous fall, purchased a tract of land, and built a log cabin. By the time the family arrived, the township was nearly full of settlers, having grown to about 100 families. A private school called the Harison Academy opened in Malone in 1806, so it is possible that Lovisa had some degree of formal education, a rarity in those days, especially in a town so small.

When the first Congregational Church was organized in the spring 1807, a year after the Parkers' arrival, Isaac and Anna Parker were listed among its 26 original members. Two minsters from nearby towns visited to officiate on the occasion.

The area was heavily wooded, and the first task of every new settler was to clear land for farming. Everyone lived in log cabins built from the multitude of logs that were cleared for planting. Most of the houses were raised in "bees" involving the entire community. For the first 25 years, few horses were available—the stumps were pulled out and the plowing was done by ox teams. There was virtually no money, so all commerce consisted of trading. Although coins came briefly into the community during the war years as military pay, they were in short supply until 1833. The first business was a tannery, which was established in 1807. Beyond agriculture, the first and most important industry for the area was the export of potash for fertilizer, which was produced by burning the abundant timber to ashes. Potash was exported as far away as Europe, and logs were floated down the St. Lawrence River for sale, transported to the dock at the nearby town French Mills by teams that brought back merchandise for the store. Another important export was cloth made from flax or wool, all of which was produced (except for some of the carding) in homes. By 1807 Malone had three grist and lumber mills.


ISAAC PARKER.

In 1810 when Lovisa turned 17, the town of Malone was five years old and had 767 people. She was the oldest child living at the Parker home. Her 19 year old brother Isaac was on his own and would soon become a leading citizen of the town. Property records the next year showed that young Isaac owned 200 acres south of the village next to his father's 170. Three sisters died young, but the dates are unknown. It is likely that the only other children in the home were Lovisa's two little brothers, Lyman and Herman, ages nine and six. In July 1813 Lovisa's father died of consumption (tuberculosis) at the age of 58. The War of 1812 had been underway for a year and had not yet reached their home. But it was getting closer.

The Battle of Queenston Heights in western New York near Niagara Falls was fought the previous October and won by the British 41st Regiment with the aid of Native Americans, a "coloured" regiment, and Canadian militia. But this was over 300 miles away, and the British Regulars had been stationed in Canada for almost two decades, so John Hammond could not have taken part in it. The month that Lovisa's father died, a large group of British Regulars arrived in Canada from the battlefields of France to fight against the Americans. It is possible that her future husband was among them, and the fighting would soon reach Monroe.

The community was justifiably alarmed. They lived near the St. Lawrence River, which was the main route from Canada into the northern United States. A militia, of which Lovisa's brother Isaac was a

[19] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/malone,newyork . There is no mention of where the name Malone came from.

member, was quickly assembled in Monroe and a committee of safety appointed. A blockhouse was erected at French Mills, soon to be renamed Fort Covington after one of the American war heroes. An American army marching from Burlington, Vermont to meet the British assembled at Chateauguay, about 13 miles from Malone and met the British in battle on October 26 near the junction of the Chateauguay and English Rivers, about 25 miles northeast of the town. There were no British regulars involved in that battle, which was won by the Canadian born regulars (called Voltigeurs), militia, and 150 Native Americans.

The two armies met again on November 11th in the Battle of Crysler's Farm, which was about 50 miles upstream from Malone. The British also won this battle. The Americans lost 102 killed and 237 wounded. British losses were 31 killed, 148 wounded and 13 missing. After the battle the British returned to their fort at Kingston and soon participated in five additional battles, chiefly on the western end of Lake Erie. The Americans abandoned their planned assault on Montreal and retreated into winter quarters at French Mills, since then known as Fort Covington after their commanding officer.

On February 19, 1814, a thousand British Regulars and 400 Canadian militia men marched right into Malone. Fortunately, the town was not pillaged, and the army stayed only a few days.

Several British soldiers named John Hammond served with units that fought in the United States, but none of these units participated at the Battle of Crysler's Farm, so it is not likely that John ended up in Malone as a deserter from that battle. However, one regiment with a John Hammond was the 5th Regiment of Foot,[20] which sent a battalion to the Battle of Plattsburg (Lake Champlain) 50 miles East of Malone on September 6-11, 1814, ending in an American victory. The Malone militia, including young Isaac Parker, marched to Plattsburg to participate in a support role. The British lost 37 dead, 150 wounded, and 57 missing, one of whom could have been our John Hammond. If so, since this unit had come directly from the defeat of Napoleon, it is possible that John had the satisfaction of participating in the liberation of his brother Jeremiah from the POW camp.

The war moved on to other battlefields. Malone actually benefitted from the improved roads that were necessary for military operations and soon had stagecoach and mail services brought in. But there were more troubles ahead.

1816 is known as the year without a summer. The entire globe was darkened and cooled by volcanic ash from the eruption of Mount Tambora in Indonesia, especially affecting northern latitudes such as New England. Most of the summer crops were stunted, and an early frost at harvest time ruined most of

[20] The First Battalion of the 5th Regiment of Foot had recently been released from victory in France among the 16,000 troops released with the abdication of Napoleon.

what was left. Potatoes survived but didn't grow larger than hens' eggs. There was no wheat, rye, oats, or vegetables. The people in Malone were expecting a relief shipment of flour from Ft. Covington which never appeared, "…causing a poignant disappointment and almost despair. Scarcity, almost destitution prevailed. Finally, a Mr. Moody brought in a cargo of flour…which the people bought hastily from the wagons before it could be unloaded in the village. Strong men wept (for) the little ones at home."[21] The little town had its moment of fame in 1817 when it was visited by James Monroe, President of the United States. It is said that the great man got out of his carriage and crossed the ford over the Salmon River on foot.

It was in this environment that Mary Lovisa Parker lived as she was courted by John Hammond.

John and Lovisa were married on December 15, 1819, in Malone. He was 24, and she was 26.[22]

With Lovisa out of the home, her widowed mother, Anna Parker moved with her little boys to Madrid, which was about 50 miles up the St. Lawrence (southwest) to live with a daughter for about six years, and then moved to several locations around northern New York to live with various children until she died Jan 1838, one year after finally receiving her widow's pension[23] for Isaac's Revolutionary War service.

In 1821 Malone's first newspaper, the *Franklin Telegraph,* was established. Malone was the county seat. On June 14, 1822, John and Lovisa's first child, Joseph Hammond, was born in Malone. They probably named him after John's teenage brother, whom he had left in England. Little is known of the Hammonds during the next 14 years except for the births of their children in Malone. The population of Franklin county tripled during those years, profiting from its potash and agriculture. Like the Parkers, most of the people in the town were immigrants from Vermont. Being of Puritan stock, most were Congregationalists. The community erected its first church building in 1827, the year that Mary Almina Hammond, Lovisa's second child, was born on Christmas Eve.

A woolen factory was opened in 1828 at nearby French Mills (alias Ft. Covington), where there was ample water power, and a cotton weaving factory was opened in Malone in 1829. The next year Sarah Loanna[24] Hammond was born on October 20th. A fourth girl named Cornelia was born March 7, 1835, who died as an infant.

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[21] Del Forker, *Sesquicentennial of Malone* 1802-1952, pp. 2-4.

[22] Nauvoo file and Frank Essholm, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1913, p. 911 gives December 15, 1821, for their marriage, but all three biographies give the year 1819. The later date is less likely since it would give only seven months gestation for Joseph, their first child.

[23] See *Issac* (sic) *Parker biography* in *FamilySearch* LW3L-FWB contributed by John W. Larson, Jr.

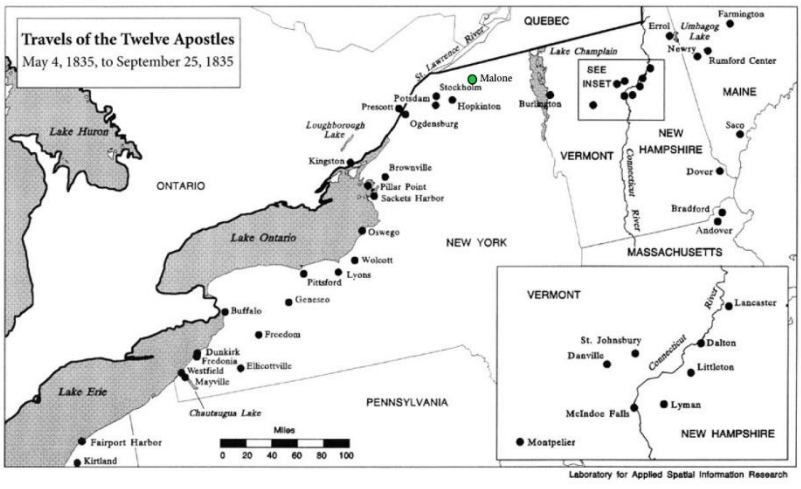
[24] Sarah Loanna appears in census records as Sarah. I will henceforth refer to her by her first name.

Chapter Two: The Hammonds Become Mormons

One week before Cornelia Hammond's birth, Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, met in Kirtland, Ohio with the newly ordained Quorum of the Twelve Apostles to announce that he had received a revelation directing the entire group to go on a mission to the eastern states to organize the scattered church members into branches and gather converts.

This would indirectly affect the lives of John and Lovisa Hammond.

The apostles set out from Kirtland May 4, 1835, and took the steamer *Sandusky* to Dunkirk, New York, where they preached for a short time in the area before moving eastward across the state, holding a conference each weekend for church members who gathered from surrounding communities. Most conferences opened with a Friday session open to members only, involving instruction and the sacrament and also business such as discipline, appointment of officers, and ordinations. The apostles organized the branches into "conferences," heard the reports of the traveling elders and branch leaders, raised money for the Kirtland Temple, which was under construction, and corrected doctrinal errors, finding that many members were not observing the Word of Wisdom. The members in each conference had been asked to arrange a "house" for a public gathering on Sundays where up to 1,500 locals gathered. Baptisms were performed for those who stepped forward. Going in groups of two toward the next destination, the apostles proselyted, traveling "without purse or scrip."[25]



For the fourth conference of their mission, on June 19-22 the apostles visited Pillar Point, New York at Sackett's Harbor, the chief U.S. Naval base on Lake Ontario, where they created the Black River Conference, including the entire northeast of the state. There they heard reports from leaders of all the branches in the area including several towns near Malone, which evidently had no members of the Church. There was a small branch of six members in Stockholm, which is 28 miles from Malone, and three members in nearby Potsdam.[26] The minutes of the meeting in Stockholm reported that the local traveling elders "had generally been diligent in their callings and ministry…. Elder Thomas Dutcher represented the Church in this place to be 21 in fellowship, but do not

[25] Ronald K. Esplin and Sharon E. Nelsen, *The Record of the Twelve*, 1835, BYU Studies Quarterly 51:1.

[26] Potsdam, population 4,500, was the home of much of Joseph Smith's extended family. In 1830 after the printing of the first edition of the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith's brothers, Hyrum and William, visited Potsdam to convert members of their family. Joseph Smith Sr. returned on another mission to Potsdam with his son Don Carlos that same year in August. Their uncle, John Smith, was converted and baptized January 9, 1832, and his son George A. Smith was baptized by the missionaries John H. Wakefield and Solomon Humphrey on September 10, 1832. By 1835 many of the Smith clan had joined the Saints in Kirtland.

generally observe the 'Words of Wisdom.' …The opinion of all the travelling Elders was that a great field for faithful labourers was open in this region."

From there the apostles headed to Johnsbury, Vermont on a road that ran right through Malone. Although their practice was to proselyte along the way, there is no evidence that they stopped there except perhaps for a quick bit of refreshment. They were in a hurry in order to allow Elder Kimball to take a detour to visit his birthplace at Sheldon, Vermont before their next conference at St. Johnsbury on July 17th.[27]

Joseph Smith, Sr.

According to family stories, the Hammond family joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1836. It is not known who introduced them to the Church nor who baptized them, but it seems probable that it was one of the travelling elders of the newly organized Black River Conference, energized by the Twelve at their meeting the preceding June at Pillar Point.[28] However, two church officials proselyted near the Hammonds in 1836. Heber C. Kimball went on a six-month mission ending May 10, 1836, during which he built up a branch of 30 members in Ogdensburg, 82 miles from Malone. Joseph Smith Sr. accompanied his brother John Smith on a mission to several conferences in the East in 1836, when he returned to Potsdam and visited the rest of the Smith family. He bestowed patriarchal blessings on several hundred persons, preached the gospel to all who would hear, and baptized many.[29] It is possible that the Hammonds were among these. In Watertown, another of the branches in the Black River district, Father Smith instructed Oliver Huntington to sell his farm and move to Kirtland, evidently an instruction that he gave to all who would hear.

That year, Kirtland filled up with eager Mormons, drawing a cautionary warning from the brethren. "A stop must be put to churches or families gathering or moving to this place…without their first coming or sending wise men to prepare…."[30] The Hammond family was among them, moving 485 miles. They could have travelled nearly the whole distance by water, taking a steamer up the St. Lawrence River to Lake Ontario, down the Niagara River to Lake Erie and on to Fairport Harbor, 10 miles from Kirtland. Or perhaps they traveled down the Hudson River to Albany and then to Ontario via the Erie Canal, finishing with a steamboat ride from Buffalo.

They may have missed the dramatic dedication of the Kirtland Temple on March 27, 1836, for the first evidence of their presence in Kirtland is John Hammond's first entry in the Newel K. Whitney store account book was between November 12, 1836, and April 16, 1837.

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[27] From Vermont and New Hampshire, the Quorum of the Twelve proceeded on to Massachusetts and Maine before returning to Kirtland on September 26.

[28] The traveling elders mentioned in the Apostles' minutes were Thomas Dutcher, Calvin B. Childs, James Blakeslee, and Frederick M. Van Leuven. None of them have left journals.

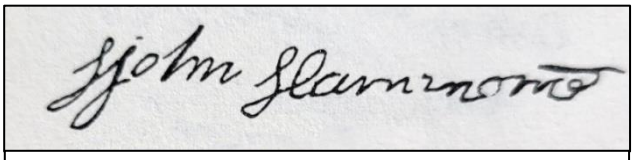
[29] Jenson, Andrew. Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. 4 vols. Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901–1936. p. 181-2.

[30] Minutes from a conference in Kirtland on December 22, 1836. Karl Ricks Anderson, *Joseph Smith's Kirtland*, Deseret Book, Salt Lake City, 1989, p. 15.

During this time there was much concern in Kirtland about the welfare of a large body of Saints who had moved on to Missouri. At a public meeting at Liberty, Missouri on June 9, 1836, the locals voted that the Saints must leave Clay County, where they had settled after being driven three years earlier from Jackson County. In the meantime, Kirtland was booming and growing rapidly. On November 2, 1836, church leaders drafted an agreement to charter a bank called the Kirtland Safety Society Bank, but the Ohio legislature refused to approve it. Due to a statewide banking crisis, they had refused all but one of sixteen requests that year. The Saints responded by creating a private joint-stock company called the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company, which got off to a shaky start in January 1837 and ended up closing its doors the following November. Many people lost their money, which led to great disappointment and bitterness.[31] Heber C. Kimball wrote that by June not 20 men in Kirtland believed Joseph Smith was a prophet. This was a period of widespread apostasies among Church leaders including Martin Harris and three of the apostles: John Johnson, Luke S. Johnson, and David Boynton. David Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, and Leonard Rich were accused of transgressions, but confessed their errors and sought forgiveness. It is estimated that 10-15% of the Mormons in Kirtland withdrew from the Church that summer.[32] That month the Saints in Missouri broke ground for a temple in Far West.

In Kirtland, John Hammond was ordained an elder on October 22, 1837.

Under severe pressure largely due to the bank failure, Joseph Smith fled Kirtland on January 12, 1838, for Missouri, arriving March 13th. On March 6th the three quorums of Seventies met, preparing to move their families to Missouri. Aside from the Seventies and foreign missionaries, most of the faithful members were already in Missouri or on their way by this time. The rest of Kirtland was chiefly apostates and the poorest of the Saints, who had no means to travel, so the Seventies came up with a plan to allow the faithful poor to accompany them. Hyrum Smith directed that a constitution for the so-called Kirtland Camp be drawn up and heads of families listed. The rules included that all members of the party be clean, decent, and observe the commandments, especially the Word of Wisdom. If non-compliant, they would be at risk of expulsion at any time during the trip and to be "left by the wayside." Heads of families pledged to enforce obedience. Those who couldn't pay in advance promised to pay as soon as circumstances permitted after arrival. There were to be "two good teams and one large tent" for every 18 immigrants. Before departure, 177 heads of families signed the agreement. Only 30% of the signers were actually Seventies—the rest were the poor people, including John Hammond's family. It took the huge party over three months to raise sufficient money and supplies to set out, and much more remained to be raised during the trip.



John's signature on Kirtland Camp agreement

[31] While perhaps ill-advised and poorly run, this financial failure was not unique. On May 10, 1837, the banks in New York City ran out of gold and silver, leading to national economic collapse. This was made worse by President Andrew Jackson's refusal to end the charter of the national bank. Nearly half of all banks closed nationwide that year.

[32] Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound, a History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio 1830-1838*, Deseret Book, 1983., p. 127.

Flora Hammond, John and Lovisa's sixth child, is said to have been born May 13, 1838, in Ohio. There are no known sources to confirm this, and her death date is not known. She did not appear in the U.S. census on June 1, 1840, so she probably died before then.

Four to five hundred people camped on a lot near the temple on July 5th preparing to depart Kirtland the following day to travel 870 miles to Zion in Far West, Missouri. They traveled seven miles the next day. Once the stragglers had caught up with them, there were 59 wagons carrying 515 pioneers with their belongings. John Hammond was the overseer of two wagons and one of the 27 tents. If his tent contained the usual 18 people, there were ten non-family members in his care, for his family consisted of himself and Lovisa, who were 43 and 44, Joseph, 16, Mary Almina, 10, Sarah, seven, Sophrona,[33] four, and possibly Flora, two months.[34]

From the official trail diary on July 10th: "Brother John Hammond broke his wagon, the only accident. On the 12th he was instructed to go to New Portage to get it fixed or traded." They had already passed New Portage, which was 60 miles south of Kirtland. He caught up with the group by July 12th.

> John Hammond overtook us in the morning on horseback, his wagon had broken again, the third time, so it could not be easily mended. The Council advised him to go back and get the brethren residing in New Portage to assist him in exchanging it for another or let him have one to go up to Zion with, and have it returned to them, as he had now fallen so far behind that we could not well assist him without hindering many others.[35]

By July 30th Kirtland Camp reached the outskirts of Dayton, Ohio. The whole group stayed there for a month, having run out of supplies and money, while having gone only about a third of the way to Jackson County, Missouri. A week after arriving at the camp, one of John's horses died, the first in the group so far. Some of the men were hired to work on a road under construction between Dayton and Springfield, and others got employment in Dayton, while the women organized a summer school for the children in the encampment. When the men brought back $1,200 dollars for their road work, the Kirtland Camp set out again on August 29th for Far West.

But the Hammonds were not among them. There had been trouble in the camp. Six days before the departure from Dayton, the trail record reported:

> Brother John Hammond and family were cut off from the Camp because he did not govern his family and stand in his lot as tent Master. The duty of a Tent-Master is to see that prayer is attended to in its season, to call all the inmates into the tent, and call the brethren by name who is to lead in prayer, for they pray in their turns or lot— And he is to watch over his tent for good and see that no iniquity exists, and if he discovers iniquity he must put it down in righteousness; but if he cannot, he must call for help, and if that will not do he must prefer a charge in writing

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[33] This name is rendered both as Sophrona and Sophronia in family records. I will use the former spelling.
[34] Flora and Cornelia do not appear in the 1840 census. Cornelia was born in 1835 and probably died the same year. Due to gaps in ages of the children and lack of birth records, which often did not exist in frontier towns, it seems likely that some others had been born and died young, possibly as many as five.
[35] *History of the Church*, July 1888, p. 105.

> against the offender or offenders, and report them to the Council; Also he must draw daily rations for his tent…."[36]

I don't know how long the Hammonds stayed at Dayton after the main group left. Family stories state that they soon continued to eastern Illinois. The Hammonds appear in the 1840 census in Decatur, Macon County, Illinois, still about 300 miles shy of Far West, Missouri.[37] This was probably lucky for them, since their former travelling companions were soon driven from Missouri with the rest of the Mormons.

The Kirtland Camp entered Illinois on September 8th, making good time on the road to Terre Haute, covering 150 miles in eight days, 19 miles per day. By the time they reached Springfield, Illinois, there were only about 260 members left. Almost half had dropped out.

Within a day or two, the Native American refugees following the infamous Pottawatomi Trail of Tears passed through Macon County on the way to a reservation in Kansas. They just missed crossing paths with the Kirtland saints, crossing the Mississippi River at Quincy October 10. They had passed through Decatur, but probably before the Hammonds arrived.

The Kirtland Camp arrived in Far West on October 4, 1838, only three weeks before Governor Lilburn Boggs issued the order to exterminate the Mormons from Missouri. That November Joseph Smith and other leaders were incarcerated in Independence, then in Richmond, and finally at the infamous Liberty Jail in Clay County on December 1. Through the following winter all the Missouri Saints fled the state, traveling in every direction except west, chiefly settling in various counties in southern Illinois.

After escaping jail on April 16, 1839, Joseph Smith moved into a cabin with his wife Emma near the Mississippi River at Commerce, Illinois, soon to be re-named Nauvoo. That month, General Conference was held at Quincy, Illinois, the border town that had sheltered a large number of the refugees, and the scattered Saints were asked to gather in Nauvoo. During the summer, affidavits were prepared detailing the losses suffered by each of the families expelled from Missouri, and it was decided that Sidney Rigdon, Elias Higbee, and Joseph Smith would travel to Washington D.C. for redress against Missouri. On October 29th Joseph Smith departed Nauvoo with his group, adding Porter Rockwell as a bodyguard. Sidney Rigdon grew sick along the way, so they recruited a recent convert, the physician Robert D. Foster, to accompany them from Springfield.

According to written Hammond family histories, the Joseph Smith party stayed overnight with John and Lovisa along the way. I could find no proof of this in any Church documents, but it is possible, since Decatur is on the most logical route for the Prophet to have taken. If so, he must have known of the Hammonds' ejection from Zions' Camp and had not lost faith in them. Since Decatur is only 46 miles from Springfield it was likely around the 10th or 11th of November that Joseph Smith and his party stayed with the Hammonds.[38]

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[36] *Joseph Smith History*, 1838–1856, vol. B-1, created 1 Oct. 1843–24 Feb. 1845.

[37] Abraham Lincoln moved at the age of 21 with his father's family to Macon County, Illinois in 1830, where he made his first political speech. He struck out on his own a year later to New Salem. Twenty years later the Illinois State Republican convention was held in Decatur, which nominated Lincoln to be U.S. President.

[38] Joseph Smith arrived in Washington on November 28th, where he was eventually able to visit members of Congress and President Martin Van Buren in the White House, of which Elias Higbee wrote, "We were immediately introduced into an upper apartment where we met the President and were introduced into his parlor, where we

If the Hammonds entertained the Prophet and his party in Macon County, it seems safe to assume that he personally invited them to move to Nauvoo. But they were not there in time to greet him upon his return from the east the following March. According to the autobiography of Joseph Hammond, he was baptized by his father in Illinois in June 1840. This must have happened in Macon County, Illinois, not Nauvoo, since the family appeared there in the census that month,[39] so they must have arrived at Nauvoo later in 1840.

The first documentation of the Hammonds' presence in Nauvoo is the proxy baptism for Susan Hammon (sic) and George Hammon by John Hammond in Nauvoo, according to the Nauvoo Record. In addition to his parents, he was also baptized on behalf of his younger sister, Sarah Smith. If the ordinances were performed after November 21 they could have been in the basement font of the uncompleted Nauvoo Temple—otherwise the baptisms were probably done in the Mississippi River.[40] Further documentation of the Hammonds' presence in Hancock County is an 1842 tax assessor's report for John Hammond: "value of cattle, $10, value of wagons, $20, other property, $20." Apparently he had not acquired land. In fact, the only land record in Hancock County involving John Hammond is on block 41 in the city of Nauvoo where he was shown as a tenant. This entry is not dated, but I believe the family may have first settled there before moving to farm land in Golden's Point, where they rented property, squatted, or worked for a farmer. John Hammond's history says that after a brief stay in eastern Illinois he heard that the Saints had been expelled from Missouri and "…soon moved to Golden's Point, near Nauvoo…."

One of Lovisa's biographers states: "(The family) became very close to Joseph and Emma Smith. The Prophet's son, Joseph (III), was the same age as Lovisa's Sophronia Ann, and when Emma put her son in pants, she gave his dresses to Sophronia Ann."[41] Sophrona was actually 20 months younger than Joseph III; in April of 1841 Joseph was eight and Sophrona was seven. It was about a mile from Block 41 to the Nauvoo House.

This relationship with the prophet's family probably continued after the Hammonds moved to Golden's Point. In the biography of John and Lovisa's daughter Mary Almina it is written that: "…(they located) on a farm nine miles from the city, a distance which Mary (14 years old in 1842) and her father often walked to hear the Prophet speak. They would spend the night in his home and then walk back again the next

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presented him with our Letters of introduction; as soon as he had read one of them, he looked upon us with a kind of half frown and said, what can I do? I can do nothing for you--if I do anything, I shall come in contact with the whole state of Missouri." Joseph Smith and Elias Higbee to Hyrum Smith, December 5, 1839, Washington City, "Corner Missouri and 3rd Street," Joseph Smith Collection, *Letterbook* 2:85–88, Church History Library.

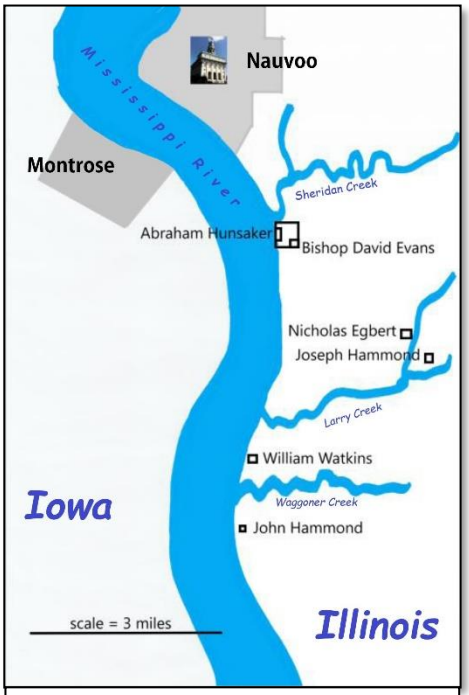
[39] Strangely, although John appeared with all four children in appropriate age ranges, Lovisa did not appear in the census.

[40] Nauvoo baptismal records of the dead, Book A76: *FamilySearch*, Ancestral File. The gender of the proxy did not matter between 1840 and 1845, when Brigham Young created a policy requiring a proxy of the same gender as the recipient. Joseph Smith first revealed the practice of vicarious baptism for the dead in a funeral service for Seymour Brunson on August 15, 1840. Evidently Saints began baptizing each other in the Mississippi river from that day on. [Jane Neyman statement, given Nov. 29, 1854, in *Journal History*.] The prophet revealed the principle in General Conference in Nauvoo October 2, 1841. From Wikipedia: In a letter written October 19, 1840, to the Twelve, who were in England at the time, Joseph Smith referred to the passage in 1 Corinthians 15:29. The first baptisms for the dead in the uncompleted Nauvoo Temple were performed Sunday, November 21, 1841. [History of the Church, 4:454].

[41] *Life Story of Mary Lovisa Parker Hammond by Hilda Watkins Goucher*, Memories, LKVY-1NY, *FamilySearch,* contributed by Allison Pond Moore.

day." I assume that she was referring to the Nauvoo House. Nine miles from Nauvoo would be near the southernmost border of the Golden's Point settlement, near Waggoner Creek. They were probably neighbors to the Watkins family according to Mary Almina's future husband, William, who wrote that with the help of the Prophet's brother Samuel Smith, they bought land "about four miles south of Br. Hunsaker."

Golden's Point is a bluff about six miles south of Nauvoo between Larry Creek and Waggoner Creek, but the ward boundary began about three miles south of Nauvoo, bordered on the west by the Mississippi River. It became a Mormon settlement in March 1842, when Abraham Hunsaker swapped his land near Quincy for 160 acres on Golden's Point "on the rapids of the Mississippi near Nauvoo," as he put it in his autobiography. Hunsaker, a native of Quincy, had been one of the town's gentile citizens who harbored Mormon families on their exodus from Missouri in the winter of 1839. The gospel was preached to him, but he resisted baptism until his brother was miraculously healed by an Elder. After his move to Golden's Point, Hunsaker provided a lot[42] on his property to David Evans, the missionary who had baptized him in Quincy in November 1839, and commenced farming, attending Sunday meetings in the grove in Nauvoo to hear teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith and the Twelve Apostles. He wrote,



Golden's Point. (Exact locations of Hunsaker, Evans, and Egbert are documented. Watkins and Hammond are estimated from their writings.)

> We continued our farm operations for two or three years, settling Saints on my land and farm. There (were) some twenty families besides mine which (had) located on the land I swapped for. Several of them purchased land from me, so we are living in a good neighborhood.[43]

The Hammonds were probably not one of the twenty families mentioned by Abraham Hunsaker if they lived near the Watkins and Mary Almina's estimate of the distance from Nauvoo was accurate. We can deduce that the Hammonds arrived at Golden's Point some time before October 18, 1842, when a petition with 26 signatures[44] from members of the branch near Golden's Point was presented to the High Council in Nauvoo to re-draw the boundaries of the branch to include additional members. It was presented by none other than John Hammond, who was noted to be a counselor to the branch president, David Evans. Joseph Smith was in hiding[45] at that time, so it is unclear exactly when he

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[42] David Evans bought 10 acres in Township 6 Range 3 North in Hancock County three miles SE of Nauvoo on September 8, 1842.

[43] Memories, *FamilySearch*, Abraham Hunsaker KWCY-T47.

[44] https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/petition-from-john-hammond-and-others-18-october-1842/2

[45] Wikipedia: On August 8, 1842, Joseph Smith and Porter Rockwell were arrested by Illinois law enforcement for their alleged roles in the attempted assassination of former Missouri Governor Lilburn Boggs. When the Municipal

considered it. It was decided by the High Council on October 29, that the proposal should be "laid over until Hyram (sic) Smith returned home from his mission to the Eastern States." But on November 19th the decision was made by the Council after Joseph and Hyrum recommended it.[46] In response to the petition, on December 4, 1842, David Evans[47] was ordained bishop, and the branch became the Nauvoo 11th Ward, which now included Sonora Landing and sections 15 and 16 of present Sonora Township.

John's oldest son, Joseph Hammond, married Elizabeth Egbert on April 16, 1843, in Golden's Point. The Egberts were one of the families who were included in the expanded boundaries when the Nauvoo 11th Ward was organized. Joseph was almost 21 and Elizabeth was 20. They had their first child, John Egbert Hammond, on New Years Day, 1844.

On March 13, 1844, the ward at Golden Point was visited by Charles C. Rich, a member of the Nauvoo stake presidency, along with Hosea Stout, the clerk for the Nauvoo high council.[48] Their purpose was to organize a women's Relief Society at the house of Bishop David Evans. The meeting was opened by prayer by Elder Rich after which he explained the nature of the Relief Society organizations at Nauvoo. After comments by Brothers Stout and Bell, the sisters were divided into classes according to their interests, such as spinning and weaving.[49] The names of several of the sisters were mentioned in the document, but Lovisa and Elizabeth Egbert Hammond were not among them. Three women were appointed to be leaders.

This little-known event at Golden's Point is of interest because it occurred just days before the last meeting of the Relief Society in Nauvoo on March 16th, two years after it was organized. I assume that the Nauvoo 11th Ward Relief Society organization never got off the ground--apparently the two visitors from Nauvoo had no idea that the organization would soon be disbanded until 1854.

A census of the Nauvoo wards was taken by the Church on April 6, 1844. Among the members counted in the Nauvoo 11th Ward were Bishop Evans and many members from Golden's Point and sections 16 and 15 of Sonora Township, but no Hammonds. This is a mystery, for as we will soon see, the family was still

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Court of Nauvoo released them they went into hiding, surrendering to authorities on December 30th, and on January 2, 1843, the extradition warrant was quashed by a federal judge in Springfield.

[46] John Hammond was apparently the writer of the letter, which was signed by 26 people including G. W. Brandon, Aaron H. (or K.) Golden, Nancy Golden, M. B. and Hannah Walton, Isaac Walton, several Harveys, P. W. Counover, Levi Jackman, and others.

[47] Brief bio of David Evans. His wife at the time was Mary Beck. He later became Lehi's first bishop, mayor, and territory legislator. He had been the Church leader at Haun's Mill (he lived 1.5 miles away at Shoal Creek), who unsuccessfully negotiated with the mob that massacred 16 Mormons and wounded 15 more. He attended the School of the Prophets and Zion's Camp and had joined the Church in Ohio 1833. After the expulsion from Missouri, Evans settled at Payson, Illinois, close to Quincy, in January 1840, and then at Golden's Point where he was called to lead the branch. He was later the bishop when it was made a ward. His wife Mary Beck died June 20, 1841. He married Barbara Ewell Nov 23, 1841.

[48] Rich was called to the Nauvoo stake presidency in 1841. He was admitted to the Council of 50 in March, the very month of this document and was a Major General in the Nauvoo Legion. The following month he was called to serve as president of the Joseph Smith Presidential Campaign Mission. Hosea Stout had been a member of the Nauvoo Legion since February 1841 and served as Nauvoo police chief.

[49] Church History Library, call number 3546 22.

living at Golden's Point. It seems possible that John and Lovisa may have been living part time in Nauvoo.[50]

It was at about this time that Joseph Smith announced his candidacy for President of the United States. On April 15, 1844, John Hammond was ordained as an Elder and called to a campaigning mission in Illinois with 35 others. In addition, many were called to other states, including John's bishop, David Evans, who was called to Virginia, all to promote Joseph Smith's campaign. John received an Elder's license on May 2nd. It is not clear whether he ever got started on his actual mission before the martyrdom of the Prophet, but since his call was to Illinois, it seems possible that he did some electioneering locally, although except for the Church members, there would have been much antagonism to the Prophet's candidacy there.

Before departing on his electioneering mission, Bishop Evans was given a special assignment[51] to go with Anson Call and Easton Horner,[52] members of the Nauvoo 11th Ward, to go to Rock Run, 27 miles south of Nauvoo, to explain the Mormon position and "determine the temper of the mob." The results were not positive, and Bishop Evans took an affidavit to Judge Thomas in Knoxville, 80 miles away, to get help in calming those hostile neighbors. The judge responded by instructing him to tell Joseph Smith to turn himself in to the local justice of the peace. The three men took the judge's letter asking Joseph to surrender to Emma (Joseph was again in hiding).

On June 18, 1844, as the mob violence increased in Jackson County, Joseph Smith declared martial law and called out the Nauvoo Legion of about 5,000 men. When Governor Ford organized a state militia to arrest Joseph, they arrived in Nauvoo on June 23rd to find that he had disappeared. On June 24th around 11:45 p.m. Joseph, Hyrum, and about 14 other men arrived at Carthage and stayed the night in Artois Hamilton's hotel. They were arrested at 8 a.m. on June 25th, and Joseph and Hyrum were taken to the jail around 9 p.m. with seven or eight others. On June 27th around 6 p.m., Joseph and Hyrum were shot in their cell. Five of the mob were eventually tried for the act, but all were acquitted.

It is written that John and Lovisa's son Joseph Hammond and his young wife Elizabeth, carrying their six month old child, walked six miles from Golden's Point to Nauvoo to be with the mourning Saints.[53] The public viewing of the bodies was held at the Mansion House on Saturday, June 29th.

One of the missionaries who had been called with John Hammond to campaign for Joseph Smith was a 17 year old boy from England named William Lampard Watkins, who had arrived in Nauvoo a year earlier aboard the steamship *Maid of Iowa* with his parents and a large group of immigrants led by Parley P. Pratt. The family bought some land four miles south of Abraham Hunsaker's development in Golden's

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[50] Elizabeth Egbert's biography says that she and her husband Joseph Hammond with their five month old baby walked six miles to Nauvoo to be with the mourners at the time of the martyrdom. If this is true, they were still living at Golden's Point, but they should have been in the 11th Ward census. Joseph Hammond wrote in his autobiography that the family moved to Nauvoo in 1846. This may be an error, since his second son Robert Egbert Hammond was born at Golden's Point October 10, 1845.

[51] Joseph Smith Papers, Affidavit from Anson Call and Others, 19 June 1844, ID# 7722.

[52] William Eaton Horner, Sr. was a 37-year-old from Pennsylvania, who had been baptized by Erastus Snow in Maryland and came to Nauvoo in 1836, about when the Hammonds came. He and his wife Nancy were childless, but adopted a nine month old orphan with whom they immigrated to Utah in 1847.

[53] If this distance is accurate, the Hammonds lived three miles south of the Abraham Hunsaker's development, which was three miles south of Nauvoo. This is close to the Watkins family.

Point and also some land in "Little Field" where they built "neat, comfortable houses, thinking they would stay a while…" Little Field was on the prairie near Joseph Smith's farm about three miles directly east of Nauvoo on the old road to Carthage near the old pioneer cemetery, but the Watkins family lived in Golden's Point.[54]

William Watkins had been stricken with polio as a young boy. He was paralyzed in the right leg, wore a heavy brace and a built-up shoe on his affected leg, and walked with crutches. He began his mission without a companion, headed for Warsaw, 20 miles from Nauvoo. Near Golden Point, he got a lift from a "bitter man" who predicted Joseph Smith would be killed before elected. William went on to Quincy and eventually to St. Louis, where he looked up friends and old London acquaintances. He was delayed there because his leg brace broke. He finally made it to Kentucky, his assigned mission destination, carrying a document with Joseph's view on slavery, which he said was well accepted, but then got an impression to go to Cincinnati, where he found an Elder who notified him of the Prophet's death. He returned immediately by boat to Nauvoo via St. Louis, arriving in time to witness the famous transformation of Brigham Young, in which he claimed the leadership of the Church for the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

According to William's autobiography, that fall he lived with John Hammond to assist him and to learn basketmaking. From this I deduce that John Hammond was making baskets for a living, which may explain why he owned no property and had moved to a location close to two creeks draining into the Mississippi, where there would be plenty of reeds and willows.

There William courted his future wife, Mary Almina Hammond, John's oldest daughter. They were married on December 2, 1844.[55] William was still 17 years old, and she was two days shy of the same age. They bought an old log house in the neighborhood of John Carson in Golden Point.[56] William wrote that due to depredations, he often had to stand guard and leave his wife alone during his absences.

The young couple had their first child, Mary Ann Watkins, at Golden's Point on October 11, 1845, according to an unsourced entry in *FamilySearch*, but William's autobiography states that she was born in early spring, 1846. He wrote that during the winter of 1845-46, endowments were given in the unfinished temple in a hurried manner, as the Saints were planning to evacuate Nauvoo and needed to get as much temple work done as possible. When his time came, he tried to go to Nauvoo, became ill with a violent fever and was unable to respond.[57] However, his in-laws, John Hammond and Mary Lovisa, were endowed February 6, 1846.

Two days earlier a man named Charles Shumway had ferried across the Mississippi, the first wagon of hundreds soon to flee Hancock County.

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[54] The April 6, 1844, Nauvoo 11th Ward census listed "William Watkins, baptized, Maria Watkins, baptized, William Watkins baptized, Joseph Watkins blest (age six at the time), Henry Watkins blest, (age four.)" In the Lesser Priesthood Census 1841-1844 William Watkins, Sr. was listed as a priest.

[55] This is actually the date that the marriage license was issued. It was marked, "return not recorded."

[56] This cabin was probably located near the Egbert family. Carson had married Elvira Egbert, Joseph Hammond's brother-in-law, January 31, 1841. After the sale of the cabin, the Carsons moved for two years to Adams County (near Quincy), and later to La Harpe. They eventually settled in South Cottonwood, Utah.

[57] William was not endowed until September 14, 1861, the same day as Mary Almina, so she didn't go to Nauvoo either.

It was time to evacuate Nauvoo, but the Hammonds were too poor to provide transportation and provisions for themselves for the long trip to Council Bluffs, Nebraska and the Missouri River. On February 22, a blizzard left a foot of snow in Nauvoo. Three days later, Charles C. Rich crossed the river on ice, and several dozen wagons crossed the ice during the next few days. The exodus was underway. Many wagons followed on ferries, gathering a few miles west of the river at a large campground in Iowa called Sugar Creek.

On March 1, the large Camp of Israel began its 3½ month trek to the Missouri River. One pioneer[58] wrote: "The weather having been cold had frozen the river over the second time this winter, so we crossed on the ice and went out six miles to the camp. We found the Camp of Israel in motion, striking their tents to move on a sabbath day's journey farther. We found them in good spirits having President Brigham Young and the Twelve in their midst."

Bishop David Evans' history states that he moved the Nauvoo 11th Ward across the Mississippi in two groups on consecutive days, and then moved them to Sugar Creek to join the camp. With them were William Watkins' parents, William and Hannah Watkins, and also Joseph and Elizabeth Hammond with her parents, the Egberts. However, a greater number of Mormons remained behind, working to complete the temple or to prepare wagons and supplies for the journey. Among these were William and Mary Almina Watkins and her parents, John and Lovisa Hammond.

The vanguard group blazed the trail slowly across Iowa, pausing at Richardson's Point,[59] since heavy rain kept them bogged down in mud and unable to move forward. The camp started out relatively small but grew as more wagon trains joined. Eliza R. Snow, noted Mormon pioneer historian and poet, wrote about the camp: "Our town of yesterday morning has grown to a City."[60] Well-organized, the camp boasted a working blacksmith shop, postal tent (Willard Richards was the postmaster), and more. Brigham Young considered the camp to be "very peaceful." He stayed in the camp most of the time, often writing back to Nauvoo to help settle affairs or direct the pioneers to quickly leave and come west.

The Camp of Israel reorganized at the Chariton River Camp, where they stayed from March 22nd to 31st. There were about 500 wagons (about 2,000 families) which were reorganized into six companies. By April 6th they stopped by the Weldon Fork River's headwaters about 50 miles due south of Des Moines, Iowa, calling the camp Garden Grove, where they established a settlement for those who couldn't continue or would follow.[61] Among those who halted there for illness were William Watkin's parents, William and Hannah Watkins.

In May, the pioneers established Mt. Pisgah as another stopover settlement. They built cabins, plowed farms and erected fences and stayed until June 1, while later-leaving groups were catching up and joining them. By June 13 the first group reached Council Bluffs. Over the next several weeks numerous other wagon trains joined them, forming the Grand Encampment. The rest of Bishop Evans' group including

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[58] Norton Jacob Autobiography https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/memories/KNQK-QS3

[59] Richardson's Point, two miles due south of Fairfield and near Keosaqua, was home to the pioneers for nearly two unexpected weeks (March 7-19, 1846).

[60] Snow, Eliza Roxcy, Eliza R. Snow Journals, 1846-1951, Church History Library, MS 8250.

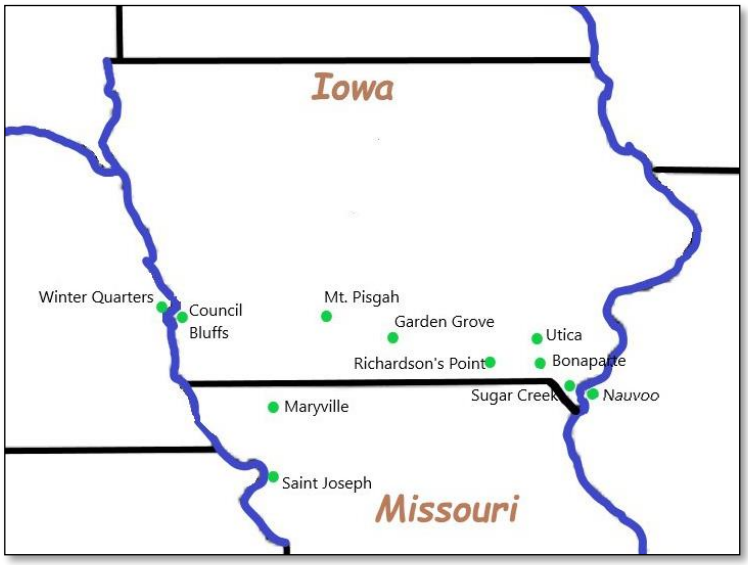
[61] Later 600 wintered there of which 70 from exposure or starvation. The Garden Grove settlement continued until 1851.

Joseph Hammond and his wife's family the Egberts reached Council Bluffs by July 21 in time for Bishop Evans' son Israel to sign up with the Mormon Battalion.

John and Lovisa Hammond did not travel with David Evans and the 11th Ward group in February. Their son-in-law, William Watkins, wrote that he and Mary Almina left in early spring with his father-in-law's family. After they crossed the Mississippi into Iowa, the Hammonds didn't move immediately west, not having adequate provisions. Looking for employment, they camped through the latter part of the summer near Bonaparte on the Des Moines River and cleared a piece of land in what William called "a very unhealthy location," burning coal and delivering wood unsuitable for coal to the distillery. He wrote that everyone but his wife Mary Almina and her mother Lovisa, got ague,[62] so they moved to Utica, about 10 miles north.

On September 29th, William and Mary Almina's infant Mary Ann died, probably on the road to Utica. William Whitehead, captain of their company, donated a small cradle and another member of the company donated the end gate of his wagon to make a casket. Mary Ann was buried along the roadside. John Hammond and William got jobs helping a man named Dunn[63] to build a new house and was allowed to occupy Dunn's old cabin for the rest of the winter, which they spent in two small rooms, a tent, and a covered wagon. They made a living making baskets and cutting timber. Before spring, a Mormon named James Clinger and his wife came along, having fled Nauvoo with his wife's parents, who were old acquaintances of Hammonds.[64] The Hammonds had no room but took the Clingers in anyway.

However hard life was in Utica, it would have been worse for the Hammonds in Hancock County. On September 10, 800 men with six cannons began to fire on the Saints remaining in Nauvoo. The attack continued for several days until an agreement was reached that every Mormon would leave except five men and their families, who were allowed to stay to sell the remaining property.



In the following spring of 1847 the Hammonds made their way to Allred's Camp near Council Bluffs, arriving early in July, where they found Joseph Hammond and his family with his wife's parents, the Egberts, preparing to leave the following spring. They squatted on some land, built log houses, and started basket making and farming to earn money for their own trip to the Salt Lake Valley, making frequent trips down the Missouri with baskets to exchange for what they needed. On one trip, John camped with his daughters Sarah and Mary Almina and Mary's husband William on the Nodoway River

[62] Ague is chills and fever, usually caused by malaria.
[63] This was probably 51 year old Richard Dunn, who had at least seven children to house.
[64] Clinger's in-laws were Adolphus and Laura Chapin participated with the Hammonds in Kirtland Camp. Like the Hammonds, the Chapins dropped out and settled near them near Springfield, Illinois, moving to Nauvoo after 1840.

for a short time making baskets, where they learned that William's parents had been taken the previous winter from Garden Grove to Maryville, Missouri, seeking care for serious medical problems. Since the town was only 20 miles away from him, William decided to leave the Hammonds' camp and, despite his lame leg, to walk to Maryville to meet them, having not seen them for over a year. Miraculously, William encountered his brothers and parents on the road, headed to St. Joseph. He directed them instead to John Hammond's camp on the Nodoway, and eventually they all returned to Little Pigeon, where his parents found a place to settle.

That July the vanguard party of pioneers arrived in Salt Lake Valley. Brigham Young returned in September to rally Saints at Winter Quarters and Council Bluffs to cross the plains the following spring. Among those to depart Winter Quarters with Brigham Young the following June were John and Lovisa's oldest son Joseph and his wife Elizabeth with their two small children.[65] They arrived in the Salt Lake Valley on September 22nd with Captain Daniel Garn's fifty.[66]

The rest of the John Hammond family remained in Iowa that year. John and Lovisa's granddaughter, Susan Elizabeth Watkins, was born to Mary Almina and William Watkins in Pottawatomie County, where William was teaching school and making baskets. Another daughter, Maria Lovisa, was born in August 1850.

John and Lovisa Hammond and their daughters Sarah, age 18 and Sophrona, age 15 (Cornelia and Flora had died as infants) departed with the Allen Taylor Company and arrived in Salt Lake City on October 10, 1849.

Mary Almina and her husband William Watkins remained in Iowa. According to the 1850 census they and their two little daughters were living next door to William's parents in Pottawatomie County.

[65] These were John Egbert Hammond and Robert Egbert Hammond, ages five and three.

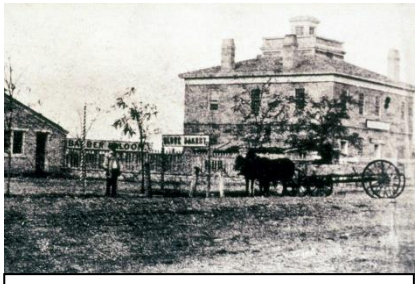
[66] Bishop David Evans finally started with his group to Utah in June 1850 as a captain of the company. Cholera broke out just as they left Kanesville, killing five including one of David's daughters. They arrived September 15. David Evans settled on Dry Creek, a branch of the American Fork River and became the bishop of Lehi. (See *Bishop David Evans and his Family*, The Bishop David Evans Family Association Lehi, UT 1972.)

Chapter Three: South Cottonwood

When John and Lovisa arrived in Utah they probably moved directly to South Cottonwood, located just east of the Jordan River about 10 miles southeast of the old pioneer fort in Salt Lake City. It was established a year earlier by the Apostle Amasa Lyman to house the large group of Mississippi Saints[67] and their slaves, who had accompanied the vanguard pioneer company into the valley in 1847. South Cottonwood began as a square mile of 10-acre plots between Big and Little Cottonwood Creeks known as the "Amasa survey." During the fall and winter of 1848 a few houses were built of logs hauled from Millcreek and Big Cottonwood Canyons, but most of the settlers wintered in tents. The first adobe house was built by their leader, John Brown, in the summer of 1849. That summer produced a small crop of wheat, but it was so scattered that it had to be harvested by pulling it up by hand. The fabled story of the crickets and the seagulls had occurred the previous year before South Cottonwood was settled, but food was still an issue when the Hammonds arrived that fall. They probably lived out of their wagon the first winter and built a wooden cabin the following spring.

On September 7, 1850, the U.S. Congress created Utah Territory, which included much of Nevada and western Colorado, but fell short of Utah's proposal for a State of Deseret to include the entire Great Basin. On the same day, California became a free state, and New Mexico Territory was created.[68]

Word from Congress did not reach Utah until January 27, 1851. That evening fireworks were fired in celebration from the roof of the new mercantile store of Livingston and Kinkead. Brigham Young took his oath of office as Territorial Governor from Daniel H. Wells, the new Chief Justice, on February 3rd in the newly constructed Council House across the street from Temple Square.



Council House

Part of becoming a territory required that Utah participate in the 1850 census, so it was carried out belatedly in April and May of 1851.[69] Brigham H. Young, an assistant census agent who was also the new governor's nephew, counted John and Lovisa Hammond in South Cottonwood with their two unmarried daughters, Sarah and Sophrona, and a young boarder named John Leadbeater, who was possibly a farm hand. The neighbors listed on one side of them were Charles and Philinda Terry. Philinda was ill at the time with a two month old infant and a little boy. On the other side of the Hammonds lived their son Joseph, who was located next to his in-laws, the Egberts.

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[67] "*The Mississippi Saints: A Unique Odyssey of Southern Pioneers,*" in *Far Away in the West: Reflections on the Mormon Pioneer Trail*, edited by Scott C. Esplin, Richard E. Bennett, Susan Easton Black, and Craig K. Manscill (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2015), 161–86.

[68] This was part of the Compromise of 1850 sponsored by Stephen A. Douglas to address the issue of slavery. The compromise strengthened the Fugitive Slave Act, admitted California to the union as a free state, and left the issue of slavery up to the two new territories. All this land had been acquired from Mexico through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 which ended the Mexican War. The land in Colorado and Nevada was removed from the Territory of Deseret in 1861 after gold and silver were discovered at Comstock and Breckenridge.

[69] This little known fact has bedeviled amateur genealogists trying to establish birth years through census data.

Most of the original settlers of Cottonwood, the Mississippi Saints, were actually counted for the census in Utah County. They were in the process of gathering in Payson, along with Amasa Lyman, to join the new Mormon Colony in San Bernardino, California.[70]

On June 29th Sarah Hammond, who had been helping the Terrys with babysitting, became Charles' second wife. The same day, John and Lovisa took the opportunity to be sealed to each other in the Council House. About six weeks later Philinda Terry died, and 20 year old Sarah became an instant mother.

Jonathan Wright's schoolhouse, a small adobe building built in 1851, served as the first religious meetinghouse in Cottonwood,[71] and the settlement became known for its excellent hay, clover, timothy, and fine quality of peas.

John and Lovisa still had a child living in Iowa, their oldest daughter Mary Almina with her husband William Watkins. The Watkins were in Little Pigeon, Pottawatomie County, where William was farming and teaching school. They were part of a large population of Mormons led by the apostle Orson Hyde, and their growing prosperity was making it difficult to make the leap to the Great Basin. In September 1851 a special epistle was delivered personally to the Saints in Pottawatomie County by Ezra T. Benson and Jedediah M. Grant, urging them to come to Utah.

The *Deseret News* advertised a letter at the post office addressed to John Hammond on November 15, 1851. I suspect that it was sent by their daughter Mary Almina, responding to the call of the two apostolic messengers. She and William would soon be making serious preparations to travel.

William Lampard Watkins

The following spring, William Watkins finally had enough timber for a wagon and ox bows and built a wagon to cross the plains with family, his parents, and three brothers. His teenage brother Henry[72] drove William's team in William Whitehead's company of ten.[73] William was evidently unable to drive them due to his paralyzed leg. The company had a lot of cattle, which became a headache for them, frequently stampeding. During one of these, Mary Almina, who was in late pregnancy, was thrown from the wagon, ripping her apron off, but suffered no lasting injury. Young Henry Watkins was badly hurt when run over by a wagon, but he recovered.

While the Watkins family was on the pioneer trail, Orson Pratt made the first public announcement of the doctrine of polygamy at a special conference called by Brigham Young on August 29, 1852, which was

[70] Their slaves were with them. It must have been a great surprise upon their arrival in San Bernardino to learn that California had been admitted to the union as a free state.

[71] This and the other historical items on Cottonwood were drawn from Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* Salt Lake City, 1949.

[72] According to William, Henry was "only in his 15th year" but Henry was probably born in 1840 according to census records.

[73] Whitehead had also been their captain coming out of Illinois.

attended by 2,000 members in the "old" tabernacle.[74] I mention this because it paved the way for John Hammond to soon become a polygamist.

The Watkins' wagon company was resting for two days near the Bear River when their new daughter, Sophronia, was born on September 5th. John Hammond came out to meet them with a team of horses and drove them to his home at Little Cottonwood.[75] William soon settled in Holladay and taught school in Union "with a copy of the *Deseret News* and a text book."

Social Hall was dedicated in Salt Lake City on New Years Day 1853[76] and formally opened with a ball, speeches, picnic, and music with Church dignitaries present. The first dramatic performance took place on the 19th, the play Pizarro. On the same day, John Hammond became a polygamist, taking as a second wife a widow of his own age of 57.

Her name was Charlotte Osborn Potter. She had been living in Utah for over five years.

Charlotte was born in Pawlet, Rutland, Vermont, which is 14 miles from Poultney, where John's first wife Lovisa was born. Charlotte and her first husband, David Potter, and several of their children joined the Church in Ohio in 1841 after being proselyted by her brother-in-law, Elder Arnold Potter, and they moved to Allen County, Iowa, just across the Mississippi River from Nauvoo. Their two oldest children died young, and their two married daughters never came west. In July 1846, the remaining Potters joined the exodus to Council Bluffs, where two more boys died in their 20's. With the remaining five of their 11 children, Charlotte and her husband reached the Salt Lake Valley in 1848, where David Potter died two years later of consumption, leaving Charlotte to finish raising their three youngest children, Amasa, 18, Elizabeth, 16, and Leonard, 13. The census that spring showed them living in the household of a 70 year old man named Peter Dustin,[77] but there is no conclusive evidence that Charlotte and Dustin were married.[78]

On March 8, 1852, Charlotte received her personal endowment in the Council House. That same year on September 15, 1852, she went to the Endowment House with a man named John Kempton to be sealed in marriage. Due to ambiguity in the marriage entry, it is unclear whether Kempton was sealed to Charlotte or merely acting as a proxy for her deceased husband David Potter.[79] By the time Charlotte

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[74] The old tabernacle, built hastily of adobe and seating only 2,500 people, was dedicated April 6, 1852. The famous tabernacle which still stands was begun in 1863 and first used in October 1867.

[75] William's parents and three brothers went on to Brigham City (then known as Box Elder) and lived in the annex of the Old Fort.

[76] *The Deseret News*, January 22, 1853, page 3.

[77] Peter Dustin is an interesting character. His first wife, to whom he was married 50 years, was Azuba Tubbs, a cousin of Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph Smith's mother. They had no children. Dustin was among the first people to join the Church, baptized by Parley P. Pratt two months after it was organized. He was a high priest who had served multiple missions, experienced the expulsion from Missouri, and at the time of the census was living in the Salt Lake Second Ward, where he became counselor to the bishop on July 13, 1851, probably while Charlotte and her children were living with him. I suspect they were paired up by Brigham Young. The Prophet had a personal relationship to Dustin, whose cousin had been the first to proselyte Brigham's parents. Peter Dustin was living in Payson, Utah in the 1860 census.

[78] Charlotte is shown as Dustin's third wife on his *FamilySearch* page, and they were posthumously sealed in in the Colonia Juarez Mexico Temple on September 25, 2021, but her family claims that they were never married.

[79] On the same occasion, Kempton was sealed to Persilla Billings Ensign, whom he had married in 1850. Kempton died on December 18, 1852, just a month before Charlotte's marriage to John Hammond, which may have played a

married John Hammond, probably only one of her children was still living with her--13 year old Leonard, her youngest son.[80]

About six weeks after John's marriage to Charlotte, the ground for the future Salt Lake Temple was dedicated and surveyed. The cornerstones were laid at conference on April 6th with an elaborate ceremony and procession involving bands, marching workmen, and Church leaders. That July the Walker War began, sparked by a confrontation with James Anderson Ivie in Springville in which a relative of Chief Walker was killed. That year Union Fort was built in South Cottonwood as a protection against Indians.[81]

On February 9, 1854, 17 women assembled in Salt Lake City and resolved to raise means, purchase materials, and make clothing for Indian women and children. They elected a president, two counselors, a secretary and assistant secretary, and a treasurer—following the pattern established by the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo. At least one of the 17 women, assistant secretary Amanda Barnes Smith, Salt Lake City 12th Ward, had been a Relief Society member in Nauvoo. The newly elected president Matilda M. Dudley, a thirty-five-year-old single mother and convert from Pennsylvania, hosted the initial meeting in her home in Salt Lake City 13th Ward.

Immigration to Utah Territory was accelerating. After 1854, agents in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia arranged transport by rail and steamships for immigrants to outfitting points in Nebraska.[82] It was not uncommon for immigrants to stay at the arrival port for months or years to earn enough money to move on from Pennsylvania, New Orleans, or St. Louis.

The next year brought more economic difficulties, the first of which was a grasshopper infestation, that although less widely known, was more destructive than the famous Mormon crickets. All three sowings of wheat, corn and buckwheat were destroyed, dropping the harvest by half. This scarcity was compounded by a greatly reduced runoff from mountain snow and by the immigration that year of 4,225 new persons to the valley. The farms south of Salt Lake City, including South Cottonwood, were nearly a desert. The Church and most cattle owners moved their herds to higher winter areas for feed, and then winter came early, the most severe since the Mormons arrived in 1847. Of the Church's cattle herd of 2,000, only 420 survived the winter. Private herds suffered the same rate of loss. This was compounded by increasing pressure on the herds by starving Indians.[83]

Probably the worst of all years for grasshoppers was 1855. That year the *Deseret News* described them on June 25th: "The grasshoppers filled the sky for three miles deep, or as far as they could be seen

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role. Kempton was a 74-year-old who had arrived in the Valley in 1847 having lost three wives before he married Persilla. See Family History Library Special Collections, Film 0183,393. Quoted from Steven G. Mecham, *The Osborn Files*, attached to Charlotte in *FamilySearch.*

[80] Like his father, Leonard later died of tuberculosis at the age of 30. He never married. Charlotte's 17 year old daughter Elizabeth was living in Cottonwood, working for Joseph Keller, whom she married about two years later when his wife died. Her older unmarried boys, Amasa and Newell were looking for gold in California.

[81] The inhabitants of Union Fort separated from the Cottonwood Ward in 1854, forming the Union Branch. It was brought back into the Cottonwood Ward by Bishop Andrew Cahoon in 1865 but became an independent ward in 1877.

[82] Transportation was further streamlined by the transcontinental railway after 1869.

[83] Davis Bitton and Linda P. Wilcox, *Pestiferous Ironclads: The Grasshopper Problem in Pioneer Utah*, Utah Historical Quarterly, Volume 46, Number 4, Fall 1978.

without the aid of telescopes, and somewhat resembling a snowstorm." They would fly overhead several hours a day for two or three weeks. A drouth compounded the problem. It was estimated that 70% of grains, vegetables, and fruits were destroyed, the worst year of the century.

I could find no description in the Hammond family history of the effect of this catastrophe, but it must have been a great challenge for them.

During this period John and Lovisa had only one child remaining at home, 21 year old Sophrona.[84] By June 1855 the Hammonds had been in Utah for over five years. Near them lived their oldest boy, Joseph. His wife Elizabeth was pregnant with their seventh child, Helen, who would be born in August. They had lost a daughter the previous year at the age of four months but had two girls and three boys aged two through 10. Mary Almina and her husband William Watkins were living a few miles away with four girls eight months to six years old. Sarah and Charles Terry were next door with Sarah's two stepchildren ages four and nine and their one year old boy. The Terrys had lost their first two children as infants, but Sarah was by this time pregnant with Mary Ellen, who would be born in November.

Joseph and Elizabeth Hammond

Bishop Andrew Cahoon

I am not sure where John's second wife, Charlotte, was living. She appeared in the unreliable[85] 1856 census in Cottonwood, presumably living with the Hammonds, but she and her son Leonard moved to Provo around that time to live with her son Amasa, and eventually the Potters all moved to Payson, where Charlotte died July 25, 1870, having lived next door to Amasa in the household of his second wife Cecelia, a 30 year old from Sweden, and her two young children.

The last child to leave the Hammond house was Sophrona, when she married a Canadian named Ralph Rose, who had tragically lost two previous wives.[86] Their wedding was officiated in the Hammond home by the South Cottonwood Ward bishop, Andrew Cahoon, on September 30, 1856, after which the couple moved to North Ogden.[87] In 1856 the South Cottonwood Ward was able to move out of the schoolhouse for

[84] According to the account of Sophrona's daughter Sarah Sylvesta, her mother had been courted as a teenager by a non-Mormon named Duttamather, but the marriage was prohibited by John and Lovisa.

[85] This special census was designed to promote statehood status for Utah Territory and contained multiple counting errors that served to inflate the population numbers. Charlotte Hammond was also counted in Provo and Fort Union, and in the Salt Lake 19th Ward, she appeared under the name of Charlotte Dutton.

[86] Ralph's first wife, Hannah Mathews, and their four children tragically died of cholera within 10 days of each other. His second wife, Minerva Sagers, died not long after the couple arrived in Utah with an infant girl named Adelaide, who was taken in and raised by Ralph's brother George and his wife Mary in North Ogden.

[87] The birth year of Lovisa Ann, the first child of Sophrona and Ralph Rose is given in family genealogies (without source) as December 9, 1854 in North Ogden. This is nearly two years before the documented wedding date. There is a gap of five years until the next child, which suggests Lovisa Ann was more likely born around 1857.

church meetings when a new adobe church was erected. It was described as "a substantial building," the finest meetinghouse outside of Salt Lake City.

It was October 4, 1856, when Brigham Young was first made aware of the plight of the Martin and Willie handcart companies, who had been stranded in the Wyoming snow after a late start for the valley. The first rescue party met the handcarts on October 19th and helped the Willie Company to arrive in Salt Lake City on November 9th. Sixty-eight members had died. The Martin company arrived 11 days later having lost at least 145. Residents of the Salt Lake Valley allowed the survivors of the companies to stay in their homes during the winter, and all eventually found homes throughout Utah and the mountain west. One of them found a home in South Cottonwood as John Hammond's third wife.

John married Ellen Daniels Atherton on March 9, 1857.

Ellen appears in the manifest of the ship *Horizon*[88] as "Helen" Atherton, widow, traveling from Liverpool with her daughter, also named "Helen" Atherton, age 20. Their passage was financed by the Perpetual Immigration Fund.[89] Their respective addresses were given as Little John and Byrom Streets, which are a block apart in downtown Manchester. They were both living at Ellen's house on Little John Street at the time of the 1851 census when Ellen Jr. was 15 years old. The census shows that Ellen Sr. was born in Cadishead, a little town about 12 miles west of the city. She was a widow who was working as a laundress, pretty much the humblest possible job for a British woman at that time. In the same dwelling lived four lodgers, who would have supplemented her meager income. Ellen Jr., who was born in Manchester, worked as a silk weaver. I found rental records for the building on Little John Street, which showed that Ellen was living in a cellar and paying one shilling, six pence per week in 1846, which would be about $7 per week in today's money—she was paying a slum lord. Her rent went up to two shillings in 1853.

At the age of 21 Ellen Sr. had married a weaver named John Atherton, who was also from Cadishead, in 1818 at the parish church in nearby Warrington. By the time that Ellen was 26 they had two children named James and Elizabeth while living in Glazebrook, a village on the outskirts of Cadishead. Their third son, John, was born in Manchester in 1828, where his father was listed as a laborer on John's christening record. The older son James appeared in the 1841 census in Warrington, working as a servant. John Atherton Sr. appeared in the electoral register in 1832 and again in 1835, having returned to Cadishead. Since only property owners could vote at the time, his presence in the register suggests that Ellen had been experiencing better financial times before her husband's death. Their property in Glazebrook was described as "a freehold house with cottage and garden." There is a nine-year gap between the birth of John Jr. and Ellen Jr.'s birth in Manchester. Sometime during those years, John Atherton Sr. died,[90] which may have been the beginning of Ellen's poverty. It was in 1840 when Ellen Jr. was three, that her mother Ellen Sr. joined the Mormon Church, baptized by Thomas Green, who was

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[88] https://saintsbysea.lib.byu.edu/mii/passenger/2228

[89] In October 1849, the Perpetual Immigration Fund was first proposed at general conference by Heber C. Kimball to bring the Saints who had been lingering in Pottawatomie County to Utah. $5,000 was raised for this purpose, and Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich were commissioned to gather money from the gold fields. A letter of instruction was sent to Orson Hyde and another to Parley P. Pratt in England to announce conferences to donate funds. By July 1854, £6,832 (£7,113 for all of Europe/Asia) was raised. This is the equivalent of $850,769 in current U.S. dollars.

[90] There was a John Atherton who died in Manchester the 3rd Quarter of 1837, but also several others, so I couldn't identify him with certainty. I could find no birth record for Ellen Jr.

also a Manchester convert. If her other children were still living, they would have been 12, 17, and 20 years old[91] when she joined the Church. When Ellen and her namesake daughter left England, they were old enough to have been out on their own at the ages of 28, 32, and 36.

The mother and daughter named Ellen Atherton left England May 15th aboard the *Horizon* with 946 passengers of which 856 were Mormons, many of whom would later cross the plains in the Martin Handcart Company. They left Liverpool 11 days behind another ship carrying future members of the Willie Handcart Company, and after a difficult month crossing the Atlantic they disembarked in Boston. The name of Ellen Jr. does not appear in the Mormon Pioneer database, only that of her mother. My theory is that Ellen Jr. set out on her own in Boston. Since she was only three when her mother was baptized, she had probably never joined the Church herself, and may have felt that as a 20-year-old she had a chance for a better life in Boston than in the western desert. Therefore, her mother traveled without family members to support her, likely pulling her own handcart at the age of 58 years. It is hard to imagine how she made it.[92] Ellen Sr. arrived in Salt Lake City with the remainder of the Martin Company (of which 135-150 people died, a mortality rate of 18-26%) in Salt Lake City on Sunday, November 30th accompanied by members of the rescue party that ushered her group through the last 350 miles from Martin's Cove in Wyoming's harsh winter weather.

John Hammond and Jane Romeril

Remarkably, John Hammond took another wife on March 15, 1857, just six days after marrying Ellen, this time a 19-year-old single woman named Jane Nancy Romeril. She had immigrated with her parents and most of her siblings along with 70 other Channel Island Saints to Liverpool, from where they came to America on April 17, 1855, via Philadelphia, then by train to St. Louis, and by riverboat to Mormon Grove, Kansas. From there they traveled via ox teams to Utah Territory with the Charles Harper Company, arriving September 29, 1855. At the time of her marriage to John Hammond, Jane had been living with her parents at Little Cottonwood for about a year and a half. Her father, Francis Romeril, had been farming and helping to haul stones and timber for the Salt Lake Tabernacle and Temple, but after the marriage of their daughter, her parents moved into a dugout at Bingham's Fort, later to be part of Ogden. According to the Romeril family story, John Hammond "was suffering from ill health. Brigham Young asked her to help take care of Mr. Hammond and thought it to be proper they should marry." They were sealed in Brigham Young's office, so perhaps the Prophet did broker the marriage. But if John was indeed suffering from ill health, it would appear that he had plenty of people around to help him. He had Lovisa at home, two other wives, and several married children living nearby.

[91] I have found no definitive marriage, death, or burial information for any of these children.

[92] Although she was on the roster, I could not find her name in any personal accounts of the handcart tragedy, nor in the detailed diary of 1840-1843 by her church leader in Manchester, William Clayton, although he made many references to Elder Thomas Green, who had baptized her.

Jane Nancy Romeril was born Feb 23, 1838, in Grouville, Jersey, the largest of the Channel Islands, which belong to England, but are situated just off the coast of France. She was baptized at the age of 12 on April 20, 1850. Her parents had been baptized a week apart in August 1849 by a missionary named William C. Dunbar[93] on the same week that William Howell, the first French missionary, was passing through the Jersey Islands, brushing up on the French language and culture for his second trip to France. Jane's older brother George immigrated to Utah in March 1851 at the age of 19, possibly to prepare the way for his parents and siblings.

More than one chronicler of the Romeril family states that the family was converted and baptized by John Taylor. This seems unlikely, although John Taylor served three missions to England. The first of these was with the Quorum of the Twelve, who arrived in England in January 1840 and returned home after March 1841. There is no evidence that he visited the Jersey Islands on that mission, and that mission occurred years before the Romeril family joined the Church. His second mission to England was from October 3, 1846 to the spring of 1847. This mission was to investigate financial problems at mission headquarters, so while it is possible that he spent time in the Channel Islands, it seems unlikely, and he left England two years before the Romerils were baptized. One account claims that John Taylor taught and baptized the Romeril family on the way to his mission in France in 1850, his third missionary trip to England. Elder Taylor arrived in Liverpool May 27, 1850, and did briefly visit the Jersey Islands on his way to Paris, where he arrived June 18.[94] But this was a year too late to have baptized Jane's parents and a month too late to have baptized Jane, not to mention that he had little time there for proselyting.[95]

When John married Jane Romeril, she was 19 years old. He was 61.

They were enjoying their fourth month of marriage on Pioneer Day, which was being celebrated in Big Cottonwood Canyon, when Porter Rockwell arrived at the party on horseback to inform Brigham Young that President James Buchanan had commissioned a detachment of the U.S. Army from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas to march to Utah.

By August, Brigham Young had declared martial law in Utah Territory. Mormon families were called back from San Bernardino and all missionaries were recalled. Able-bodied men between 15 and 60 were re-activated into the Nauvoo Legion in August. This did not include John, who was over 60, but his son Joseph was 35. That fall, members of the Legion including Joseph Hammond in Lot Smith's Company were sent into Wyoming to harass and delay the approaching army. On October 1st Fort Bridger was burned. Hampered by the militia's harassment and low on supplies, Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston settled his troops near the burned-out remains of Ft. Bridger for winter camp. By February 1858 Thomas

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[93] Elder Dunbar was assigned to the Jersey Islands from December 1848 until about 1851. In one mission report to the *Millennial Star* on April 24, 1849, he wrote that he had found 44 faithful Saints when he arrived in the Jersey Islands and had baptized 60 more. During his immigration to America in 1852 he was involved in a steamboat explosion that killed his wife, his two children, and 22 other Saints. He was called in 1854 to serve as president of the French Mission following John Taylor.

[94] B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor: Third President of the Church*, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1892, Kindle Version Pages 172 and 175.

[95] It is true, however, that John Taylor, who was in Liverpool on French Mission business, spoke to the emigrating Saints including her brother George, who were soon to board the ship Olympus, which departed on March 3, 1851 to send off the departing French Mission president, William Howell.

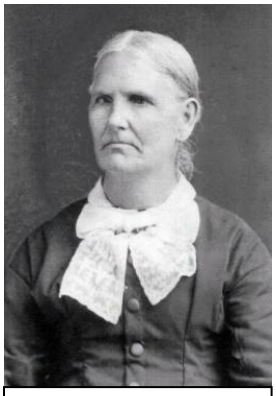
Kane, the Mormons' friend, arrived to negotiate peace after traveling incognito from San Bernardino via the Panama Canal.

In the midst of this, Jane Romeril had her first child, Mary Jane, 11 months after her marriage to John.

Brigham Young, expecting an invasion, was planning a scorched earth policy.[96] He declared:

> Before I will suffer what I have in times gone by, there shall not be one building, nor one foot of lumber, nor a stick, nor a tree, nor a particle of grass and hay that will burn left in reach of our enemies. I am sworn if driven to extremity to utterly lay waste in the name of Israel's God.[97]

On March 24, 1858, leaders of the wards around the Salt Lake Valley were instructed regarding provisional destinations in Utah, Juab, Millard, and Iron Counties. One thousand militia men were requisitioned to maintain patrols in Echo Canyon and to protect property in the abandoned settlements. Warren Foote[98] of South Cottonwood was hired by Archibald Gardner to commence work to grind flour for all the evacuees in his mill on the Jordan River. The poor were to be helped first. The bishops were to begin at once and get them at least as far as Utah County. The rest of the people in the Salt Lake Valley secured their houses as best they could, packed up wagons with food supplies and their most crucial belongings, and headed south. In a few days the state road was lined with teams, wagons loaded with families, and within a week Gardner's Mill was filled full of wheat to be ground and packed. Foote, with a young assistant named James C. Walker and two workers to assist them, worked 16 hours a day, producing 14-16 bushels per hour. The rush continued for six or seven weeks. Teams were constantly on the road going and coming from the south, day and night.



Mary Almina Hammond

William and Mary Almina were driven south by fellow ward member Milo Andrus because they had no horse or wagon.[99] I do not know what John did with his four wives and infant daughter during the evacuation. If John was ailing, as the Romeril story seems to indicate, the evacuation must have been difficult for him. Andrew Cahoon, the South Cottonwood Ward bishop, fled with his family to Lehi in covered wagons, and stayed all summer. Typically, the wards were following their bishops, so most likely John Hammond and his wives went no further than Lehi, where David Evans, the

Bishop David Evans

[96] His so-called Sebastopol Policy had been employed during the Crimean War of 1855, in which the Russians blew up their military stronghold in the Crimea before surrendering it to the allied British and French forces.
[97] *Journal of Discourses*, 5:232.
[98] Foote joined the Church in 1833 and moved with his family to Kirtland. He witnessed the Haun's Mill massacre in 1838 and served as a Seventy in Nauvoo. He ran a grist mill and sawmill in Kanesville for four years and was a captain of 100 in a wagon train to Deseret in 1850. He had worked for the miller, Archibald Gardner, before moving to Cottonwood.
[99] *Sketch of the Life of Sophrona Almina Watkins Bateman, daughter of William Lampard Watkins and Mary Almina Hammond*, in Memories for Mary Amina Hammond, *FamilySearch*.

bishop with whom John had served at Golden's Point was again serving as bishop.

General Johnston entered Salt Lake City by June 26th and with about 2,500 soldiers marched through the Salt Lake Valley to set up Camp Floyd 20 miles west across the Jordan narrows from Lehi. They would remain there until 1861. The crisis ended, Brigham Young announced four days after the soldiers entered the valley that he was taking his family home, and the Saints were at liberty to follow. The return was uncoordinated, spanning July and part of August. It was not until fall that ward meetings were resumed on an as-needed basis until late in the year.

By this time John Hammond was nearing the end of his days, but he was still vigorous enough to produce another child. Although probably not yet aware of it, his young wife Jane was carrying her second child when John died on December 27, 1858, which if born at the normal 40 weeks' gestation, had been conceived a month before John's death.

I do not know exactly where John's four wives were living when he died. Wife number three, Ellen Daniels Atherton, had been living with John Hammond's daughter Sarah and her husband Charles Terry the previous year. In the Terry's account of the move to St. George in 1861 there is no mention of Ellen, and I have been unable to find any trace of her anywhere after the 1860 census. I like to think that she found a way to rejoin her daughter Ellen, who had failed to make the trip west. By then Ellen Jr. was 23 years old.

Wife number two, Charlotte Osborn Potter, relocated to Payson sometime before 1860, possibly as late as the occasion of John's death. There she lived with her sons Amasa and Newell, where she died at the home of Cecelia Parsons Potter, Amasa's second wife on July 25, 1870, at the age of 75.

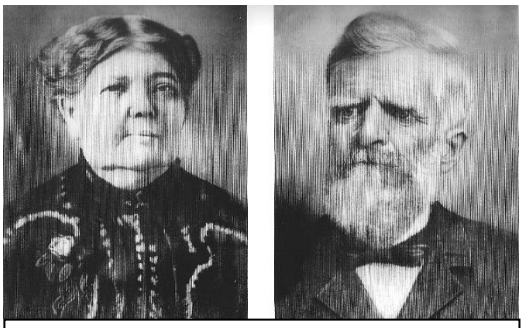
Jane Romeril was left at John's death with their 22 month old daughter Mary Jane, and pregnant. The following August 21st her second daughter was born, whom she named Matilda. Matilda's birthplace is given as Weber County by *Find a Grave* and also on the death certificate of Matilda's daughter, so it seems possible that after John's funeral, Jane and her daughter went straight to her family in North Ogden to have her baby. Her mother was a midwife.[100]

The Romeril descendants have described a different scenario. One biographer wrote: "(Jane) Nancy struggled four years to care for herself and her little ones, then she married Pierce in Ogden." Another wrote: "Being the 4th polygamous wife in the family, Jane was left alone to care for her little girls; she gleaned in the fields to find enough food to feed them. Finally in 1860, realizing she needed help, Jane pushed her little girls in a handcart to North Ogden to live with her parents. Being proud, she still gleaned in the fields for wheat, artichokes or any other food that was left in the fields, in order to help support herself and her daughters."[101] One account gives her husband's name erroneously as Joseph Hammond and another as John Joseph Hammond. *FamilySearch* currently has Jane as the wife of both the father (John) and son (Joseph) Hammond. But I can find no evidence that she was ever sealed to Joseph, although he was sealed to many other women.

[100] See Mary Billot's biography in Jane's memories, *FamilySearch.*

[101] She appears as Jane Hammond in the unreliable Utah 1856 census in Weber County. Unfortunately, I cannot find her anywhere in the 1860 census, which would greatly help to settle the issue.

What we do know is that on September 11, 1863, Jane Romeril married George Pierce in North Ogden. The couple was sealed to each other in 1871.[102] Jane died in Ogden on February 4, 1909.



Jane Romeril and George Pierce

Lovisa, the wife of John Hammond's youth, was 66 years old when he died. Only three brief and sadly inadequate sentences describe the last 13 years of Lovisa's life in the D.U.P. book, *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude* as follows: "Mary (Lovisa) taught her daughters to cook, sew, card, and spin wool. She was an example to her children and her grandchildren. She was strong, tall, courageous, God fearing, hardworking and ever faithful."

Lovisa does not appear in the 1860 census. It shows her oldest son Joseph still living in South Cottonwood with his family, but without her. Her oldest daughter, Mary Almina, with her husband and their six girls and one boy, were living in Cottonwood as well, and so were Sarah and Charles Terry. John's second wife, listed as Ellen Hammond, was living with the Terrys, classified in the census as a "domestic." Sophrona and Ralph Rose were living in Ogden with four kids, and they were also left out of the 1860 census. Perhaps Lovisa was missing because she was visiting the Rose family.

Lovisa's great granddaughter, Hilda Watkins Goucher wrote: "On the year she died, three of her four children would be called by Brigham Young to make their homes in other settlements." One of them left before Lovisa died--Mary Almina with her family. They were still in South Cottonwood for the birth of Lovisa's grandson, Joseph Hammond Watkins, in February, but in March they moved to Brigham City. William had been called by Lorenzo Snow to be the city's fourth schoolteacher. He served as Snow's secretary for almost 30 years.

Mary Lovisa Hammond died June 29, 1861, in South Cottonwood.[103] If Mary Almina and Sophrona were to be by her side, they must have traveled home from Box Elder and Ogden. Her other two children, Joseph and Sarah, were still living nearby in South Cottonwood and probably attended her death.[104]

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[102] According to *Jane Ann Nancy Romeril (Hammond) (Pierce)*, posted in *FamilySearch* Memories for Jane Romeril, the two girls fathered by John Hammond were also sealed to George Pierce that day. However, the temple section for Jane's *FamilySearch* page has them sealed to John.

[103] Her L.D.S. membership record gives the date and place of Lovisa's death. I could find no primary source.

[104] It was after Lovisa's death that in General Conference that October, Brigham Young called 300 families to move to Utah's Dixie to produce cotton. Among them were Lovisa' children Joseph and Sarah with their families. Joseph couldn't sell his farm in South Cottonwood, so he left his wife Elizabeth to manage it until the following year. He took his oldest two children, and they lived all winter out of his wagon and tent until he could build his house. Sarah had been suffering from some sort of cancer for three years at the time of the call. Her husband, Charles Terry, was released as bishop of their ward, and they arrived in St. George with their six children, all ten or younger, after a three-week trip on which Sarah drove a team in the light wagon. Joseph Hammond and the Terrys arrived together. Sarah died of the cancer April 15, 1874, after many years in bed. Joseph also died of cancer in St. George, dying in 1899 at the age of 77 after six years with the disease.